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Globalizing St George: English associations in the Anglo-world to the 1930s*

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Abstract

While English nationalism has recently become a subject of significant scholarly consideration, relatively little detailed research has been conducted on the emigrant and imperial contexts, or on the importance of Englishness within a global British identity. This article demonstrates how the importance of a global English identity can be illuminated through a close reading of ethnic associational culture. Examining organizations such as the St George's societies and the Sons of England, the article discusses the evolving character of English identity across North America, Africa, Southeast Asia and the Antipodes. Beginning in the eighteenth century, when English institutions echoed other ethnic organizations by providing sociability and charity to fellow nationals, the article goes on to map the growth of English associationalism within the context of mass migration. It then shows how nationalist imperialism – a broad-based English defence of empire against internal and external threats – gave these associations new meaning in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The article also explores how competitive ethnicity prompted English immigrants to form such societies and how both Irish Catholic hostility in America and Canada and Boer opposition in South Africa challenged the English to assert a more robust ethnic identity. English associationalism evinced coherence over time and space, and the article shows how the English tapped global reservoirs of strength to form ethnic associations that echoed their Irish and Scottish equivalents by undertaking the same sociable and mutual aspects, and lauded their ethnicity in similar fashion.

Keywords Anglo-world, competitive ethnicity, diaspora, English associations, ethnicity, imperial nationalism, inter-ethnic rivalry, St George

> Summoned by the magic call of the Empress Queen, 'Greater Britain' has suddenly stepped forward on the field as an actual and integral part of her Realm and Empire.[1]

* We gratefully acknowledge the generosity of the AHRC (project grant AH/I001042/1), which facilitates our North American research, and of the editors and anonymous referees of this *Journal*, whose insights significantly improved the article.

1 *A sketch of how 'the diamond anthem' was sung around the world through the colonies of the empire on the 20th June 1897. Being an extract from the annual report of the supreme grand president of the Sons*

As Queen Victoria approached the end of her sixtieth year on the throne, the Order of the Sons of England in Canada evoked this 'Greater Britain' by coordinating a sustained global celebration. An exclusive English and Protestant organization found only in Canada and South Africa, the Sons appealed to kindred associations around the globe, including the Orange Order and the St George societies, to mark the jubilee with 'a scheme that is at once novel [and] patriotic'.[2] Their aim was for 'the *Jubilee Service of a continuous anthem around the world*, to take place on Sunday, the 20th of June, the actual anniversary of Her Majesty's accession'.[3] 'Greater Britain' thus rose as one to sing the national anthem at around 4 p.m. local time, with Englishmen in Fiji, New Zealand, Australia, Asia, Europe, North America, and even on board British ships in the Pacific Ocean joining the 'Wave of Song'.[4]

Despite 'the many doubts ... expressed as to the possibility of its being actually accomplished', the Sons of England Supreme Grand President averred after the event that the desired outcome was achieved. By utilizing communication networks, which 'were opened up with all the Colonial bishops and clergy' and 'Patriotic societies and the secretaries of the Royal Colonial Institute', the services had followed 'the sun westward', traversing 'the world in one unbroken line through the colonies of the Empire of the Union Jack'.[5] Dunedin, Balclutha, Lawrence, Riversdale, and Waiau, all in the South Island, New Zealand, conformed to the plan.[6] In Launceston, Tasmania, people of all denominations sang the anthem together; in Adelaide, the singing took place after a fine tea; and in Melbourne, at 4:20 p.m. – precisely the time listed by the Sons – the national anthem rang out at the Augustine Congregational Church.[7] In Perth, Western Australia, where the Anglican bishop and the local St George's Society joined forces, 'one of the most striking features of the service' was a large number of young children singing the anthem, being fully 'in accordance with the wish of the Sons of England Society'.[8] In North America, too, 'our own brethren in Newfoundland and Canada and patriots in the United States took the service up with energy and enthusiasm'.[9] British Americans in Milwaukee followed suit, as did British subjects in Galveston, who accompanied the anthem with cricket and other sports.[10] In Charleston, South Carolina, the anthem was sung in the afternoon, and a dinner, jointly

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of England, given at St Catherine's, Canada, 8th March 1898, Toronto: Robinson-Arbuthnot Press, 1898, p. 1.

2 *Daily Mail and Empire* (Toronto), 15 April 1897.

3 *A sketch*, p. 1.

4 National Library of Australia, *Diamond jubilee of her majesty Queen Victoria, Sunday, 20th June, 1897, Victoria, British Columbia*.

5 *Evening Telegram* (St John's, Newfoundland), 4 May 1897.

6 *West Coast Times* (Hokitika), 21 June 1897; *Otago Witness* (Dunedin), 24 June 1897; *Clutha Leader* (Balclutha), 25 June 1897; *Tuapeka Times* (Lawrence), 23 June 1897; *Mataura Ensign* (Gore), 24 June 1897; *Star* (Christchurch), 25 June 1897.

7 *The Mercury* (Hobart), 21 June 1897; *The Argus* (Melbourne), 21 June 1897.

8 *West Australian* (Perth), 1, 21 June 1897 (quotation from the latter); *Western Mail* (Perth), 4 June 1897.

9 *A sketch*, pp. 2–3.

10 *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 20 June 1897; *Galveston Daily News*, 23 June 1897.

organized by the St Andrew's and St George's societies, was held in the evening.[11] A hint of the inclusivity of English imperial values was given, as Jews and Christians, both Catholics and Protestants, were involved in the celebrations.[12] For example, a circular was sent by the Revd Monsignor Farrelly to the pastors of churches in the Archdiocese of Kingston, Canada, calling for Catholics to ensure that 'the day be properly honoured, enthusiastically celebrated, and marked in the calendar'.[13]

So it was that the Sons of England had mobilized powerful networks of church and confraternity in veneration of one of the strongest icons of identity in the empire and at home: the monarchy.[14] Monarchical ceremonialism had been turned into an imperial event in 1877 with Benjamin Disraeli's orchestration of the fortieth anniversary celebrations for Victoria's reign.[15] By the 1890s, royal jubilees, coronations, funerals, and visits had become inherently imperial occasions.[16] While the monarchy had enjoyed ceremonial power before the age of empire, the imperial context provided significantly greater potential for expressions of adoration. The efforts of English societies in 1897 required no official prompt, thus suggesting that Disraeli's vision had been realized, with monarchy and empire inseparably intertwined.

The English societies creating this collective splash formed part of a formidable world of associations: Freemasons, Orangemen, the Navy League, the Magna Charta Association, and English county associations – all of them shared the imperial ideal. Against the backdrop of the Boer War, masculine groups, such as those analysed here, were matched by a flowering of female loyalist and imperial organizations, including New Zealand's Victoria League, Canada's Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, and the South African Guild of Loyal Women.[17] However, until the First World War, English associations primarily drew upon masculine traditions. Our research focuses on the strongest, most widespread examples of English associationalism, the St George's societies and the Sons of England, drawing upon archives in North America and Australia, and digitized newspapers from a number of countries.[18] We do not, however, explore the Anglican Church: Anglican links

11 *Weekly News and Courier* (Charleston), 30 June 1897.

12 For instance, *Fort Worth Register*, 14 May 1897.

13 *Daily Mail and Empire*, 17 June 1897.

14 See Paul Ward, *Britishness since 1870*, London: Routledge, 2004, ch. 1.

15 Clarissa Campbell Orr, 'The feminization of the monarchy, 1780–1910: royal masculinity and female empowerment', in Andrzej Olechnowicz, ed., *The monarchy and the British nation, 1780 to the present*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 92.

16 David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: how the British saw their empire*, London: Allen Lane, 2001.

17 Joanna Trollope, *Britannia's daughters: women of the British empire*, London: Random House, 1983; Julia Bush, *Edwardian ladies and imperial power*, London: Leicester University Press, 2000; Eliza Riedi, 'Women, gender, and the promotion of empire: the Victoria League, 1901–1914', *Historical Journal*, 45, 3, 2002, pp. 569–99; Katie Pickles, 'A link in "the great chain of friendship": the Victoria League in New Zealand', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 33, 1, 2005, pp. 29–50; eadem, *Female imperialism and national identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002; E. van Heyningen and P. Merrett, '"The healing touch": The Guild of Loyal Women of South Africa, 1900–1912', *South African Historical Journal*, 47, November 2002, pp. 24–50.

18 Digitized newspapers include: the World Newspaper Archive (US, South Asia, Africa); Singapore Pages; Papers Past (New Zealand); Trove Newspaper Archive (Australia); Newspaperarchive.com (Canada, US); the Library of Congress' Chronicling America; and Google Newspaper Archive. Search terms included: 'George's Society'; 'Society of St George'; 'George's Day'; and 'Queen's Jubilee'. The initial

were important, as the above episode shows, but, while English ethnic societies were connected to the churches and welcomed clerics as speakers, the associations were essentially secular. Moreover, Anglicanism in empire, an enormous topic worthy of separate consideration, has already found its historians.[19] Much less is known of the organizations we discuss here.[20]

Whether in their private gatherings, in their public celebrations, or through the deployment of powerful ethno-cultural symbols, such as St George slaying the dragon,[21] English associations often utilized rituals similar to those of other ethnic societies established by migrants from the British Isles – societies often framed by a broadly pro-imperialist worldview. Except at the margins (for example, in the form of Fenianism), this also included the Irish, who made a major contribution to upholding the values of the British empire.[22] Only militant separatists sought to wrest Ireland entirely from political federation with Great Britain. Such militancy as there was existed particularly powerfully in the United States, where Irish identity was more strongly nationalist than at home. In fact, English societies and wider British loyalist organizations came into conflict, at times serious, with highly organized and powerful Irish nationalist organizations in the United States – and with the Boers in South Africa.

This article therefore examines the wider context of what was an extraordinarily well-executed celebration of Victoria's sixty-year reign, unravelling the identity of a group – the English – that is not usually characterized by ethnic behaviour. As such, ethnic associations provide an important and sensitive test-bed, for June 1897 revealed a global network of such associations uniting otherwise unconnected peoples as a single corporate identity, tied together by transnational communication.

English associations and Englishness

For J. R. Seeley, the nineteenth-century admirer of empire, 'the history of England is not in England, but in America and Asia'.[23] More specifically, according to Robert Young, English

searches yielded more than five thousand hits. Results were then filtered by relevance and, where appropriate, additional searches were carried out when material pointed to further developments and sources, for instance in relation to county societies in New Zealand. More than a thousand press reports were then scrutinized in detail for this study to establish the activities and geographic trajectories of English associations throughout the Anglo-world over time.

19 Hilary Carey, *God's empire: religion and colonialism in the British world, c.1801–1908*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010; Joe Hardwick, 'An English institution? The Church of England in the colonies in the first half of the nineteenth century', in T. Bueltmann, D. Gleeson, and D. M. MacRaild, eds., *Locating the hidden diaspora, 1500–2010*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, forthcoming.

20 Although see Gillian Leitch, 'The importance of being English: English ethnic culture in Montreal, c.1800–1864', in Bueltmann, Gleeson and MacRaild, *Hidden diaspora*.

21 Although ethno-symbolism was not normally associated with Western nationalisms, Anthony D. Smith observes it in English behaviour: *Ethno-symbolism and nationalism: a cultural approach*, London: Routledge, 2009, pp. 67–69.

22 Kevin Kenny, ed., *Ireland and the British Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006; Patrick O'Leary, *Servants of empire: the Irish in the Punjab, 1881–1921*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.

23 J. R. Seeley, *The expansion of England*, Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1971 (first published 1883), p. 13.

ethnicity was made, not in England, but in the empire.[24] Young argues that the Saxon in England was reworked into a global Anglo-Saxon identity expressly so that it could be utilized by people of English descent in America and the colonies. Thus there emerged a global brand of Englishness that eventually fed back to England, promoting imperial unity in the face of rival imperialisms and indigenous nationalisms.

The formation of the Royal Society of St George (RSStG), in England in the 1890s, as a centripetal focus for an otherwise scattered collective, aligns with modernist notions of nationalism, particularly the wave sweeping late Victorian England. However, this was not the period of the first coherent expression of Englishness. As Hastings observes in his challenge to modernist ideas of nationalism, 'one can find historians to date "the dawn of English national consciousness" ... in almost every century from the eighth to the nineteenth'.[25] Some trace this identity to Bede's first usage of the term *gens Anglorum* to describe an English people; others cite roots in the post-Norman settlement, the English Civil War, or the eighteenth century – all quite separate from those preferring modern origins.[26] However, critics of Hastings and other 'perennialists' point out that, despite pre-modern precursors, national identity did not become a unified ideology until the modern period.[27] Moreover, in the rise of associational Englishness, English people abroad responded to external pressures, which influenced Colley's classic interpretation of the formation of the British identity.[28]

While our article appears to conform to modernist readings of nationalism, English ethnicity was more complicated than that: it emerged before the age of modern nationalism, drawing upon older traditions of Englishness and encompassing the empire as much as the nation. Despite the emergence of Britishness in response to the formation of the United Kingdom, 'England' and 'Englishness' continued to be used as synonyms for 'Britain' and 'Britishness'[29] – a tendency also evident among English societies across the world. While pre-modern symbols and meanings appeared in expressions of Englishness, modern factors – the conditions of imperial growth and transnational communications networks – were vital to the global and coherent application of these symbols.

Beyond the United Kingdom, there was a striking degree of continuity in the way in which empire became an extension of England and Britain. This emphasizes the importance of the external context for English identity: indeed, scholars have demonstrated beyond

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24 Robert J. C. Young, *The idea of English ethnicity*, New York: Blackwell, 2008, pp. 1–2. Declan Kiberd ascribes similar powers to Irish America: *Inventing Ireland: the literature of the modern nation*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1995.

25 Adrian Hastings, *The construction of nationhood: ethnicity, religion and nationalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, which offers a direct challenge to E .J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780: programme, myth and reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

26 The literature is too extensive to list here, but see Krishan Kumar, *The making of English national identity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 1–17, 39–59, and the sources he cites. Gerald Newman, *The rise of English nationalism: a cultural history, 1740–1830*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987, and Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707–1837*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992, are particularly important, sustained treatments of pre-modern origins.

27 Smith, *Ethno-symbolism*, pp. 10–11, 44–5.

28 Colley, *Britons*.

29 Hastings, *Construction*, esp. pp. 61–5.

question how much of England's and Britain's history took place outside the British Isles.[30] Within a global empire, the concept of Englishness lacked the inclusiveness and flexibility to be useful to an expanding population under London's control. Overlapping with Britishness, while at the same time lying at the core of the wider idea of being a Briton, Englishness intimated a discrete, separate, narrower identity, necessarily crowded out or lost in a world dominated by Britain, and later 'Greater Britain'. Yet Englishness still served a purpose by providing the core values of Britishness, especially within the imperial context. While we do not go as far as Kumar, who suggests that English identity of this type was effectively missionary nationalism,[31] we value another of his terms: imperial nationalism. Kumar sees English nationalism as doubly imperialist in the light of the way in which 'English' has served for 'British'.[32]

Imperial nationalism is useful when describing the global efflorescence of English societies in our period: our research shows the formation and spread of a series of ethnic societies that were fundamentally reliant on imperialism for impetus. While the terms 'English' and 'British' were often used interchangeably to describe aspects of imperialism, martial prowess, economic power, and culture, speakers at meetings were quite precise in their association of Englishness with certain political values – Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, and *habeas corpus*.[33] Charles F. Benjamin captured the essence well in a lecture to the North American St George's Union, an amalgam of English and wider British associations, when he described 'English-speaking communities' as a 'group of political societies' that has 'for a common inheritance the language, literature, laws and habitudes popularly described as Anglo-Saxon'.[34] It was these common people whose numbers and range were expanded by mass migration, and who asserted their commonalities through shared history, ancestry, customs, and values.

The roots of English ethnic societies can be located in the eighteenth century, forming part of the networks of clubs and societies, brilliantly described by Peter Clark, that honeycombed the Atlantic world.[35] At that point, however, they were localized instances of Enlightenment cosmopolitanism, underpinned by sociability and charity.[36] They were not governed by transnational ethnic attachments, except in their response to incoming charity cases. In the nineteenth century, however, this 'unimagined community' became something

30 David Armitage, *The ideological origins of the British Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. See also J. G. A. Pocock, '"British history": a plea for a new subject', *Journal of Modern History*, 47, 3, 1982, pp. 601–28.

31 Kumar, *English national identity*, pp. 30–2.

32 *Ibid.*, pp. 35–8.

33 See, for example, Lewis Abraham, *Gloria Britan[n]ica and the universality of Anglo-Saxonism; a paper read at the convention of the North American St George's Union, at Toronto, August 30, 1883*, Washington, DC: no publisher, 1883, esp. pp. 19–20.

34 Charles F. Benjamin, *The future relations of the English-speaking communities; an essay read before the eleventh convention of the North American St George's Union at Chicago, August 20, 1884*, Washington, DC: no publisher, 1884, p. 1.

35 Peter Clark, *Clubs and societies, 1580–1800: the origins of an associational world*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 3, 388–429.

36 Aligning with Jürgen Habermas, *The transformation of the public sphere*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.

akin to Benedict Anderson's highly influential 'imagined community'.[37] Since most of the people who joined English societies knew about, but never met, their peers in far-flung lands, we find Anderson's model, with its emphasis on the importance of modern media communication, appealing to explain transnational identity, for English ethnic societies certainly formed and maintained impressive transnational systems of ethnic celebration.[38]

Our article describes a tradition of ethnic associationalism that has been written about for Scots, Irish, and others, but whose English dimensions have been largely overlooked or downplayed. While scholarship on British identities has grown rapidly since the 1990s and studies of Englishness have also appeared regularly in that period, empirical discussions are few and far between.[39] No one has yet undertaken this type of transnational study. Yet associative behaviour has long been recognized as an important sphere of study, and the English, like so many other ethnic communities, chose to express their corporate identities in this way. The very notion that the empire included associations that were actively English is not mentioned in key recent histories of the English – something that would be unthinkable for a study of the Irish or Scots.[40] These factors partly explain Harper and Constantine's observation on the Canadian situation that 'the lack of recognition given to English settlement is remarkable … Their profile seems to have suffered from a perception that they were founding people rather than an ethnic group.'[41]

Historians from the United States tend to ignore or disavow the idea that the English were ethnic, which explains the condition that Harper and Constantine describe. In most conceptions, the 'English'/'British' were viewed as the external threat against which other ethnicities were formed. Narratives of ethnicity tend to portray ethnic diasporas as politicized spaces, drawing on the Jewish experience as a model.[42] As historians in the US began studying immigrants as a series of sub-sets – hyphenated Americans – contributing to the wider national culture, the English were left out.[43] Indeed, only Rowland Berthoff touches on the notion of the English in the US as ethnic.[44] Writing after Berthoff, the premier historian of the English, Charlotte Erickson, viewed them as ethnically 'invisible', dismissing the societies that we study here as mere 'social events of an elite who were not

37 S. Condor, 'Unimagined community? Some psychological issues concerning English national identity', in G. M. Breakwell and E. Lyons, eds., *Changing European identities: social psychological analysis of social change*, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinmann, 1996; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983.

38 Newspapers, and later radio and TV, maintained the webs. See Simon Potter, *News and the British world*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003; Wendy Webster, *Englishness and empire, 1939–1965*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

39 Jeremy Paxman, *The English*, London: Penguin, 1998; Robert Colls, *The identity of England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002; Kumar, *English national identity*.

40 Colls, *Identity*, does not explore Englishness outside England; Paxman, *English*, concentrates on England and the 'Celtic Fringe'.

41 Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine, *Migration and empire*, OHBE companion series, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 14.

42 Robin Cohen, *Global diasporas*, 2nd edn, London: Routledge, 2008.

43 David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's seed: four British folkways in America*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, pp. 4–5.

44 Rowland Berthoff, *British immigrants in industrial America, 1750–1922*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953.

in touch with the larger immigrant community'.[45] Similarly, in Australia, studies of English settlement say little of the cultural institutions of the English.[46] Hammerton and Thomson's investigation of post-war emigration from Britain to Australia stresses their invisibility; and Jupp's overview of two centuries of English settlement dismisses English ethnic associations, particularly the elitist, conservative, imperialist RSStG.[47] Meanwhile, New Zealand has no specific study of English ethnic cultures, with general accounts focusing on migration rather than ethnicity.[48]

Although English societies had first emerged in the United States in the eighteenth century, they proliferated in all parts of the British empire in the half-century prior to the First World War – what we now recognize as the first age of globalization. The global network of English societies traced here – societies usually restricted to English-born members or their descendants – expressed a shared commitment to what they accepted as English values: liberty, opposition to tyranny, fair play, charity, and an unbending sense of the natural role of the English as leaders of the world. In the following discussion we hope to show that the truest picture of English ethnic identity is one that focuses on the modern period, when such corporate identity became most sustained and noticeable, but also engages with the imperial context. This perspective is demonstrated through the agency of ethnic associations.

The evolution and spread of English associations

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in an effort to stave off the disrupting effects of uprooting themselves, emigrants to the New World carried with them a plethora of confraternities, friendly societies, and clubs.[49] Recognized as an intrinsic part of an emerging civil society, and a signature of an emerging public discourse in the New World, associations promoted both private enjoyment and public values.[50] Following the rhythms of emigration and settlement, the English first organized themselves in the American colonies, then in Canada, and later in Australasia and Asia. The earliest recorded English association was Charleston's St George's Society (1733), followed by those of New York

45 Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible immigrants: the adaptation of English and Scottish immigrants in nineteenth-century America*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990; eadem, 'English', in S. Thernstrom, A. Orlov, and O. Handlin, eds., *Harvard encyclopaedia of American ethnic groups*, 2nd edn, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1980, p. 333.

46 For example, Janet Doust, 'Two English immigrant families in Australia in the nineteenth century', *History of the Family*, 13, 2008, pp. 2–25.

47 James Hammerton and Alistair Thomson, '*Ten pound poms*': *Australia's invisible migrants*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005, pp. 11–15; James Jupp, *The English in Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

48 James Belich, *Making peoples*, Auckland: Penguin, 1996; idem, *Paradise reforged*, Honololu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001. See also Rollo Arnold, *The farthest promised land*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1981; idem, *New Zealand's burning*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1994; idem, *Settler Kaponga, 1881–1914*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997.

49 Clark, *Clubs and societies*, esp. ch. 11.

50 Habermas, *Public sphere*.

(1770), and Philadelphia (1772). The earliest societies in Canada appeared from the 1830s.[51]

The English thus planted ethnic markers in the form of societies almost as early as their Scottish counterparts and at about the same time as the Irish. Welsh, French, German, and Italians all followed suit.[52] Like the St David's Society for the Welsh, or the Sons of Hermann for the Germans, the St George's Society was established as a wide-ranging friendly and benevolent society whose primary aim was to give support to new immigrants. Membership of the society was normally restricted to those born in England or their descendants. In 1834, Montreal's St George's Society embraced 'those who are natives of England, or descendants of natives of England'. By-laws from the 1860s make further membership specifications that resonate with those elsewhere: 'Any person who is a native of England or Wales, born in the British Possessions, may become a member of this Society, after being proposed and elected by open voting ... and paying a subscription fee of no less than three dollars'.[53] Welshmen were also 'eligible as members' in Baltimore (though 'natives of Scotland and Ireland' were excluded), while the St George's Society of British Columbia had the sole concern of 'bringing together Englishmen for their mutual benefit'.[54] Typically, the founding statutes of Philadelphia's Society of the Sons of St George declared that it existed 'for the ADVICE and ASSISTANCE *of* ENGLISHMEN in DISTRESS'.[55]

More than a century later, the New York St George's Society stressed similar principles, with the added espousal of sociability. The society 'arose from the congenial feelings of some native English settled here, who felt, that though this was to be their permanent residence, they could not restrain the gratifying recollections of their native land, or be unmindful of the condition of any who might resort to their vicinity in a state of indigence or distress'.[56] Through such efforts, the English became successful in accumulating 'endowments and annually dispensed several thousand dollars among hundreds of persons'.[57] Charity remained a constant throughout, but it was with mass migration in the nineteenth century that it became a more persistent issue and English associations in

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51 Toronto (1834), Quebec (1836), and Ottawa (1844): *Charters and bye-laws of the St George's Society of Toronto... 1862*, Toronto: no publisher, 1863, p. 4; *Quebec St George's Society, officers and members, with the reports for 1846*, Quebec: J. C. Fisher, 1846, front cover; for Ottawa, Anson A. Gard, *The hub and the spokes: or the capital and its environs*, Ottawa: Emerson Press, 1904, p. 47.

52 The Scots Charitable Society of Boston was founded in either 1657 (Berthoff, *British immigrants*, p. 165) or 1684 (*The Massachusetts register and United States Calendar, for the year of our lord 1801* ..., Boston, MA: T. J. Fleet, 1800, p. 40; John M'Culloch, *A concise history of the United States, from the discovery of America till 1795* ..., Philadelphia, PA: no publisher, 1795, p. 195).

53 *The act of incorporation and bye-laws of the St George's Society of Montreal, founded by Englishmen in the year 1834, for the purpose of relieving their brethren in distress*, Montreal: Montreal Printing & Publishing Company, 1867, pp. 3 and 8.

54 Maryland Historical Society, MS 1881, Baltimore St George's Society Records, Minute Book, 6 December 1866; *Constitution, by-laws and standing rules and orders of the British Columbia St George's Society*, Victoria: W. A. Calhoun, 1886, p. 2.

55 *Rules and constitution of the Society of the Sons of St George*, Philadelphia, PA: Humphrey's, 1772, p. 6. See also Historical Society of Pennsylvania, (PHi)1733, minutes of the founding meeting, held on St George's Day 1772.

56 Robert Waller, *A sketch of the origin, progress and work of the St George's Society, A.D. 1786–1886*, New York: no publisher, 1887, p. 3.

57 Berthoff, *British immigrants*, p. 165.

North America began offering practical support for immigrants.[58] Associational benevolence extended to handouts, meal tickets, employment agencies, return tickets home, forward passage to towns with work, and information about the state of the American economy. In New York, relief distribution systems were highly regulated to prevent abuse,[59] while English associations elsewhere stressed the importance of aiding the 'deserving poor'.[60] The focus on the 'deserving' perhaps explains why Albert Jones of Toronto did not receive support from the local St George's Society: he was a single man with alcohol problems that affected his ability to work. Jones met the refusal with the comment that it was 'unEnglish' to do so.[61] Although it chose not to help Jones, the Toronto Society made many and varied contributions, including seasonal offerings to the English poor. In 1859, members made a 'gratuitous distribution of meat, bread, potatoes, and wood on the day before Christmas', thereby carrying 'warmth and gladness to many a darkened home'.[62] Such 'Christmas cheer' remained a key feature of English associationalism in Toronto until well into the twentieth century (see Figure 1), and was common in other cities. Other St George's societies sought to intervene before such charity was needed, seeking to stem migration when times were hard. Hence the Philadelphia society placed adverts in English newspapers to warn immigrants against leaving home,[63] while in Canada the society wrote to the British government to oppose those emigration schemes from England that are 'keeping this country overflowing with pauperism'.[64]

Such patrician benevolence was a central component of Englishness overseas, especially that of the predominantly middle-class leaders of English associations: it was a powerful tool used to assert an English identity, but was also one founded on the principal belief that brotherly charity was necessary to solve prevailing social problems that were not sufficiently addressed by governments in the new places of settlement. The latter point also helps explain why benevolence was particularly important in the early phase of English associationalism in North America, but played no role, for instance, in New Zealand. The latter was only settled from the mid nineteenth century, and migrants who arrived there tended to be better off in socioeconomic terms than those migrating to other parts of the world. Consequently, there was comparatively less need for the type of patrician benevolence so

58 The role of these societies was recognized by the British government: see, for example, 1872 [C.617] *Reports on the present state of Her Majesty's colonial possessions. Transmitted with the blue books for the year 1870. Part III. North American colonies; African settlements and St. Helena; Australian colonies and New Zealand; and the Mediterranean possessions, &c.*, p. 50; 1892 [C.6795-XI] *Royal Commission on Labour. Foreign reports. Volume II. The colonies and the Indian empire. With an appendix on the migration of labour*, p. 89; 1906 [Cd. 2979] *Departmental Committee on Agricultural Settlements in British Colonies: minutes of evidence taken before the Departmental Committee appointed to consider Mr. Rider Haggard's report on agricultural settlements in British colonies, with appendices, analysis, and index*, II, 208, 5490.

59 New York Public Library, *ZAN-8373, St George's Society of New York annual report for 1874, p. 8.

60 For instance in *Ottawa Citizen*, 16 December 1907.

61 Quoted in Lisa Chilton, 'Managing migrants: Toronto, 1820–1880', *Canadian Historical Review*, 92, 2, 2011, p. 248.

62 *Jamestown Journal* (New York), 30 December 1859.

63 Letter to the *Manchester Guardian* reprinted and commented on in *Freeman's Journal*, 18 August 1874.

64 1878–79 (C. 2372), *Eighth annual report of the Local Government Board*, pp. 152–3.

Figure 1. 'Distributing Xmas cheer, St Georges Society', 1922. Source: City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1266, Item 0048.

crucial in North America: New Zealand's ethnic associations tended to focus on cultural pursuits and sociability rather than charity.[65]

English associations and mass migration in the Anglo-world

English associations, well established in the easterly states of the US by the 1840s, moved west and south with migration. As the Midwest was opened up, Madison, Wisconsin, reported the existence of a St George's Society in 1856; two years later the tradition had made its way east to Milwaukee, as the number of English settlers proliferated.[66] The prominence of English societies, as evinced by the press, suggests that the established pattern of middle-class leadership remained key. Thus, in 1858, with their society newly formed, the Milwaukee English held their first major St George's Day dinner.[67] In Chicago, the St

65 Tanja Bueltmann, 'Ethnizität und organisierte Geselligkeit: das Assoziationswesen deutscher Migranten in Neuseeland im mittleren und späten 19. Jahrhundert', *Historische Zeitschrift*, forthcoming; see also eadem, *Scottish ethnicity and the making of New Zealand society, 1850 to 1930*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011.

66 *Wisconsin Patriot* (Madison), 23 August 1856; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, 12 March and 3 April 1858.

67 *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, 26 April 1858.

George's Society was founded in 1860; four years later members made an impressive splash with their sustained celebrations of the tercentenary of the birth of the bard, William Shakespeare.[68] These celebrations echo the character of the fine dinners, religious services, and other celebrations that were organized across the world. Some of the most impressive events occurred among the wealthy of New York at Delmonico's restaurant, or, in India, at the Mansion House, but similar events were also organized by the Cape Town St George's Society and various county associations in the 1890s.[69] In the US, Chicago had four different English groups by the mid 1890s: the Sons of St George, the St George Benevolent Society, the British American Society, and the Joliet Order of St George.[70] Meanwhile, in the eastern United States, with further migrations constantly replenishing English migrant communities, St George's societies were supplemented by smaller organizations, such as the Albion Society, which continued to hold annual dinners in the 1880s and 1890s.[71]

English societies began to appear further west in the 1880s (see Figure 2), reaching the Pacific coast from British Columbia to southern California.[72] Again, the role of the middle classes was in evidence, with 'fifty influential English gentlemen' forming the St George's Society of Southern California to combine 'the usefulness of a club and some of the objects of a friendly association'.[73] An equivalent organization in San Francisco, the Sons of St George, also indicated the importance of economic collectivism in the style of friendly societies, being listed in a local newspaper under 'Secret Societies', along with many other financial-mutual organizations.[74] In the same decade, the Albion Society of Denver was holding large New Year parties.[75] As migrations also swept southwards, St George's Society activity was recorded in places such as New Orleans and Knoxville, Tennessee.[76] By the early 1900s societies had reached the Pacific shoreline, with branches in both Los Angeles and Pasadena.[77] In interwar Oakland, the two lodges of the American Order of the Sons of St George – Albion and Derby – were listed with dozens of other fraternities and societies.[78]

In Canada, establishment of lodges of the Sons of England accompanied westward expansion. In Calgary, Alberta, the first Sons of England lodge, the United Roses Lodge No. 117, was established in 1890, when Harry Symons, a delegate from the Grand Lodge

68 *Chicago Tribune*, 2 May 1861, 26 April 1864. The fourth AGM was reported in the same newspaper on 5 and 12 April 1864. See also the editions of 16, 22, 27, 28, and 31 March 1864.

69 *Pioneer* (Allahabad), 17 May 1894, 13 June 1900.

70 *Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago), 22 April 1895.

71 Its twentieth anniversary was remarked upon in 1875: *North American and United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), 15 December 1875; see also *North American* (Boston), 15 December 1885.

72 *Los Angeles Times*, 6 April 1887, 1 January 1891, 25 April 1895, 25 April 1904.

73 *Los Angeles Times*, 24 April 1885.

74 *Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 14 November 1885.

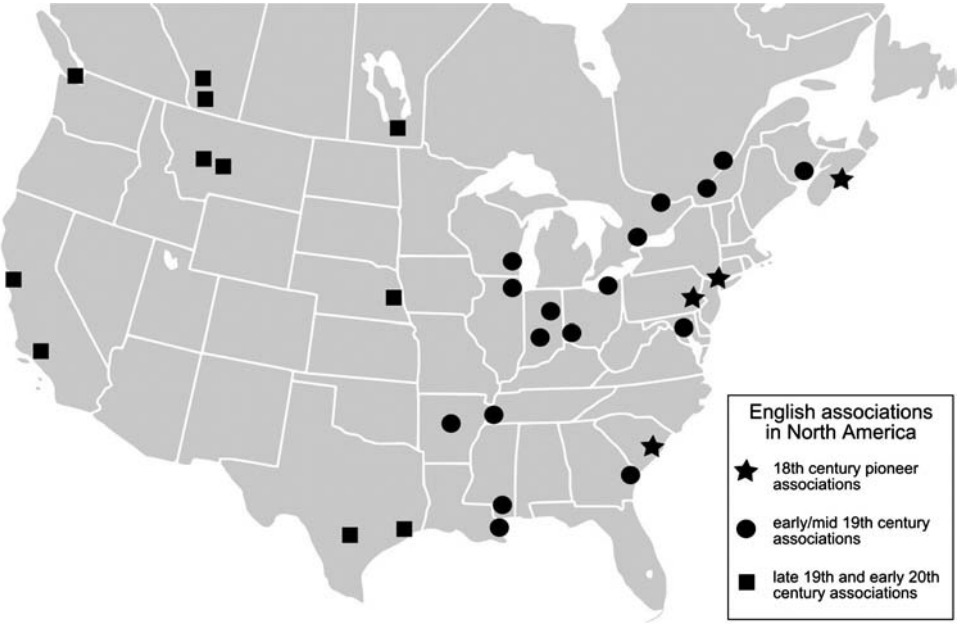
75 *Rocky Mountains News* (Boulder), 2 January 1887.

76 E.g. *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), 11 May 1891; *Knoxville Journal*, 18 February 1891.

77 *Los Angeles Times*, 25 April 1904.

78 *Oakland Tribune,* 1 February 1924.

Figure 2. English associations in North America: geographic trajectories over time.



in Toronto, met with those interested in forming a branch.[79] Twenty members 'were initiated into the order, taking the Red Rose Degree'.[80] The local press welcomed the establishment of the United Roses Lodge, noting that 'we shall be greatly surprised if the Calgary lodge does not prove to be one of the largest and most prosperous in Canada'. Two years later in Winnipeg, Manitoba, the Sons were advertised specifically as a benevolent society, organized into lodges and holding regular meetings and annual events.[81] George Clift King was the United Rose Lodge's first president. Born in Chelmsford, Essex, in 1848, King had emigrated to Canada in 1874 and joined the North-West Mounted Police that year, making his way to the prairies. After being discharged, King settled in Calgary and was appointed postmaster, also serving as the city's mayor in the later 1880s and as a councillor thereafter. A recipient, in 1934, of the Order of the British Empire, King is a suitable representative of the type of middle-class Englishmen who loyally acclaimed the old home through associative behaviour.[82]

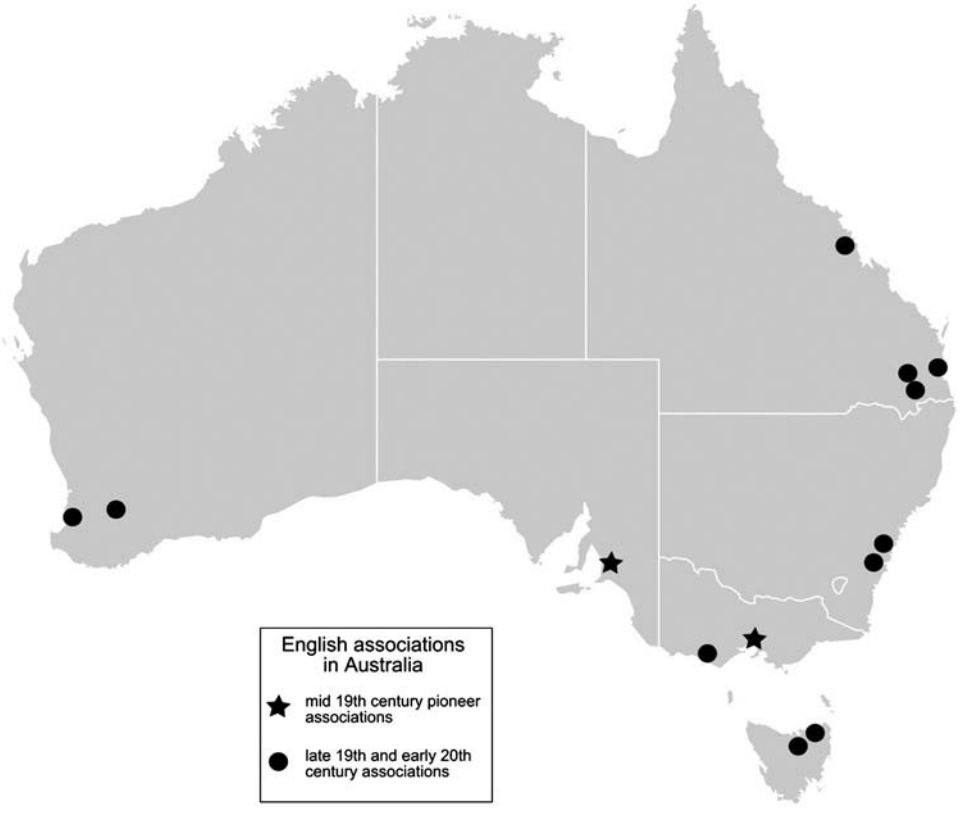
79 Glenbow Museum Archive, Calgary, M-1659, Sons of England Benefit Society, Calgary lodge fonds, 1 August 1890; later lodges include Calgary Lodge No. 240, set up in 1904, and the Golden West Lodge No. 319, established in 1911.

80 *Calgary Weekly Herald*, 6 August 1890.

81 *Manitoba Free Press*, 2 March and 7 April 1892.

82 See also Glenbow Museum Archive, Calgary, M 4030 D920.K52, George Clift King fonds, interview with his son Edward King in 1959.

Figure 3. English associations in Australia: geographic trajectories over time.



A similar relationship between the spread of English associations and migration and colonization is also noticeable in Australasia (see Figure 3). The country's first St George's Society was set up in Melbourne in 1847,[83] while Adelaide Englishmen mooted one in early 1845 before finally meeting in 1850.[84] Organized by dedicated Englishmen, the celebration of the national festival at times preceded the official formalization of associational structures, frequently providing a spark for their establishment.[85] By the turn of the century, numerous larger St George's societies could be found across the country, from Kalgoorlie and Perth in Western Australia, to Hurstville and Sydney in New South Wales; from Scottsdale and Launceston in Tasmania, and Warrnambool in Victoria, to Toowoomba and Brisbane in Queensland.[86]

83 *The Argus*, 19 March 1847, though Mr Booth, an early English settler declared that St George's Day was marked early as '1842 or thereabouts': *The Herald* (Melbourne), 2 July 1897.

84 *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 18 January 1845; *Courier* (Hobart), 23 April and 16 May 1851.

85 Thus mirroring the Scots: Bueltmann, *Scottish ethnicity*, p. 66.

86 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 December 1893; *West Australian*, 24 June 1898, 28 April 1900; *Brisbane Courier*, 25 October 1904, 1 February 1913; *Camperdown Chronicle*, 1 May 1913.

In New Zealand, St George's societies were much sparser than in either Australia or North America and were late to develop – this tells us something about the comparatively small, concentrated populations of New Zealand, and may reflect a society characterized by Fairburn as lacking the social glue of associationalism.[87] The St George's Society in Auckland organized saint's day events between 1859 and 1861[88] and appeared to offer advice to potential immigrants from England, outlining 'the peculiar advantages the Province of Auckland possesses as a field of emigration'.[89] But little else is known about the society. St George's Day had become a bank holiday in the 1870s in New Zealand. By the 1890s, 23 April was filled with sporting activities as part of a national culture of annual sports' days and festivals that encompassed immensely popular Scottish Caledonian Games, Irish St Patrick's Day sports, races, and regattas.[90]

English associations also extended to the remoter Pacific colonies and to the mercantile empire in Asia, where developments were not supported by large-scale immigrations. Hawai'i hosted a St George's Society;[91] and, in 1869, the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Albert, offended members of the St George's Society in the Sandwich Islands by refusing an official dinner hosted by them.[92] In Madras, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Shanghai, English clubs were the preserve of elite administrators and military personnel rather than a popular movement. Events organized throughout the Anglo-world, such as the visit of the 'Heir-Apparent and Prince-Consort' to Singapore,[93] were not for hoi polloi. In parts of Africa – for example, Salisbury, Rhodesia and Cape Town, South Africa – elites and settlers blended together in English associations,[94] and middle-class elements established *conversazione* (polite, intellectual discussions and debates), while in India in the 1880s patriotic poetry was produced.[95]

The growth of English societies in South Africa was primarily shaped by tensions with the larger Afrikaner population. Many societies there were transplanted directly from England; others were introduced from Canada,[96] which explains the existence of the Sons of England in Canada and South Africa alone. In Canada and the United States the English clubbed together against Irish and French threats, but in South Africa, where the Irish were sparse, Boer nationalism was the enemy. Lambert in particular has done much to recognize

87 Miles Fairburn, *The ideal society and its enemies: foundations of modern New Zealand society, 1850–1900*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989. For an opposing view, see Bueltmann, *Scottish ethnicity*.

88 *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 7 May 1859; *Daily Southern Cross* (Auckland), 17 April 1860, 23 April 1861.

89 *Daily Southern Cross*, 28 February 1860.

90 *Wellington Independent*, 22 April 1872; *The Colonist* (Nelson), 19 April 1887; *Poverty Bay Herald* (Gisborne), 14 April 1896.

91 *Hawaiian Gazette*, 29 April 1868.

92 *Madras Mail*, 14 October 1869.

93 *Ceylon Observer* (Colombo), 25 April 1901.

94 *Madras Mail*, 20 April 1888; *Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), 24 April 1890; *Pioneer*, 13 June 1900.

95 E.g. *Central African Times* (Blantyre), 29 April 1905; *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 2 May 1903. See 'St George's Day (23 April)', *Madras Mail*, 23 April 1885.

96 John Lambert, 'Maintaining a British way of life: English-speaking South Africa's patriotic, cultural and charitable associations', *Historia*, 54, 2, 2009, pp. 55–76.

the flowering of various societies and associations in South Africa as focal points for expressing British identity in an increasingly hostile environment.[97] While certainly not as numerous as in other dominions, St George's Societies and the Sons of England were more important in South Africa than has been recognized, especially when added to the county societies that proliferated there, as they did in New Zealand.[98] Like their peers elsewhere, members in South Africa serviced social and cultural needs, laced occasionally with politics.

In the frontier towns of North America, associational ethnicity was much earthier than the middle-class enterprises of benevolence and fine dinners in the big cities of the east. In the prairie towns of the west, Canada's Sons of England organized coyote hunts, and their lodges took on the appearance of fraternal societies, with sashes and other paraphernalia.[99] Across all sites of settlement, however, the English sponsored membership as a way of life for all family members rather than just for males. Just as with churches, football clubs, Boy Scouts, and many other ethnic associations (such as the St Andrew's Society, the Hibernians, and the Orange Order), English societies offered rational recreation for youngsters in the hope of raising good citizens of empire. Thus in 1920 the Sons of England had juvenile lodges in Toronto and Ottawa with 150 members in total.[100]

Transnational connections between English ethnic associations

We began with a spectacular instance of transnational corporate identity: the 'Wave of Song' uniting English ethnic associations around Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. Such connectivity had earlier roots. Not simply localized in their organization, English societies federated within and across national communities. In the United States, the working-class Sons of St George organized gatherings of county and state delegates from the east coast and the Midwest.[101] Transnational connections were also fostered through societies hosting visiting dignitaries from back home. When Lord Napier, the queen's minister in Washington, addressed the St George's Society dinner in New York, in 1857, he reflected on 'Anglo-Saxon amity' and the union of the peoples of Britain and America.[102] The Liberal politician Joseph Chamberlain returned from a visit to the United States full of praise for the hospitality of the Sons of St George, more than three thousand of whom had attended his reception. They were, he wrote, 'as fine a lot of working men, all of them British with

97 John Lambert, 'South African British? Or Dominion South Africans? The evolution of an identity in the 1910s and 1920s', *South African Historical Journal*, 43, 2000, p. 206; idem, '"An unknown people": reconstructing British South African identity', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 37, 4, 2009, pp. 599–617.

98 G. B. Magee and A. S. Stewart, *Empire and globalisation: networks of people, goods and capital in the British world, c.1850–1914*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 87–8.

99 For example, Glenbow Museum Archive, Calgary, NA-644-28, 'Annual coyote hunt of the Sons of England Benevolent Society, Calgary, Alberta'.

100 *Toronto World*, 21 August 1918; *Ottawa Citizen*, 13 April 1923.

101 *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 20 August 1884.

102 *The Argus*, 11 August 1857.

the exception of a few from the North of Ireland, as I have ever seen … and intensely sympathetic with the old country, while they were also loyal American citizens'.[103]

The North American St George's Union was formed in the early 1870s to bring together diverse US and Canadian English organizations. From the early 1880s local English societies hosted roving conventions for this organization, each in a different city. In 1880, the convention met in Ottawa; at other times, Union events – meetings, picnics, and gatherings – were reported as far afield as San Francisco and Petersburg, Virginia.[104] In August 1884, the Eleventh Convention met in Chicago, hosted by the Chicago St George's Benevolent Association and attracting delegates from Washington, Toronto, Philadelphia, and Bridgeport, Connecticut. Topics suggested for discussion ranged from how Shakespeare's works might 'be further popularized as the best means of perpetuating vigorous English speech', to 'the future relations of the English-speaking communities with respect to the motherland and to each other'.[105] Members were treated to lectures and cultural activities; reunions were another intrinsic feature, as were leisure pursuits, such as the 'drive about the city' and an excursion to Pullman. The 1894 Convention in Toronto brought together delegates from over 100 lodges, while the 1927 meeting hosted over 200 representatives.[106]

The RSStG, founded in London in 1894, provides the clearest example of the transnationalism of Englishness, becoming a global focal point for English ethnic associations throughout the world. Forming such a society confirmed middle-class domination of ethnic societies, but also marked a significant imperial turn – from economic collectivism or simple sociability to a staunch defence of empire. Glorification, celebration, and an urgent form of identity replaced the more gentlemanly credo of the eighteenth century. Crucially, this was an example, *pace* Young, of the English at home responding to Englishness in the colonies. The essence was captured well in the message of Howard Ruff, honorary secretary of the RSStG, London:

> … it is now generally conceded … that a day of celebration in the interests of Empire is a pressing necessity of our times, and there is a general consensus of opinion that St George's Day, 23rd April, is the most suitable day in every way for that purpose – and one which all members of our glorious Empire, irrespective of creed or party, could adopt.[107]

The RSStG became the headquarters of many new branches. Sydney Englishmen formed a branch in 1900;[108] in Blantyre, in modern-day Malawi, notables spent late 1904 and early

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103 *New York Times*, 22 August 1888; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 27 February and 12 March 1888.

104 Historical Society of Pennsylvania, (PHi)1733, Letters from the North America St George's Union to the Society of the Sons of St George, Philadelphia, Minute book vol. 6, 1888; *North American*, 21 August 1880; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 20 August 1884; *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 18 April 1877.

105 South Carolina Historical Society, St George's Society Records, 1124.00, North America St George's Union, Eleventh Annual Convention information leaflet.

106 *Toronto Daily Mail*, 14 March 1894; *Ottawa Citizen*, 10 August 1927.

107 *Ceylon Observer*, 10 April 1902.

108 The Australian version still exists: http://www.royalsocietyofstgeorge.com.au/ (consulted 1 November 2011).

1905 establishing a branch.[109] In the early 1900s, numerous RSStG branches were noticed in Southeast Asia: Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Negri Sembilan, Malacca, and Shanghai. Local papers reported instances of St George's societies and published RSStG annual reports, thereby ensuring that branch societies in Singapore and the surrounding areas were connected to the global community.[110] Salisbury, Rhodesia, inaugurated a branch in 1912; a year later, Mombasa experienced similar developments; and, after much discussion, a branch appeared in Gwelo, Bulawayo, in 1918.[111]

Connections were cemented by grand dinners and lavish events organized by far-flung St George's societies for visiting politicians, writers, admirals, or clerics, and by telegraphic communications from headquarters to the branches. Many rose to give approving applause at dinners around the world, such as when Admiral Sir George Fowler addressed the Sydney branch in 1913, news of the event reaching New Zealand.[112] When the London group sent St George's Day greetings around the world via cable, the branch in Launceston, Tasmania, responded 'your England is our England'.[113]

In all sites of settlement, monarchical loyalty was a requirement, though few went as far as the wealthy Philadelphia St George's Society, which commissioned a portrait by William Sully to mark Queen Victoria's accession.[114] Reverence for the queen could, however, create accusations of divided loyalty. In 1862, during the American Civil War, with notable tensions between Britain and the US, the Philadelphian Englishmen included 'England' and 'America' in their programme of toasts, but not the queen. Sometimes the order of toasting placed the queen ahead of the president, sometimes not.[115] In contrast, Canadian loyalists raised glasses, without fear of criticism, to both the queen and the governor-general.[116] The St George's Society, Hawai'i, toasted the president, the queen, and the king of Hawai'i.[117] In Australia, the St George's Society demonstrated clear patriotic intent, in November 1904, by asking the Australian prime minister to adopt the reigning monarch's birthday as Empire Day.[118]

Besides dinners and toasts, St George's societies held dances, promoted lectures, and organized sports.[119] At Blantyre, the RSStG put on cricket matches, 'old English glees,

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109 *Central African Times*, 12 November 1904; 14 January, 11, 12, and 25 March, 1 and 29 April 1905; 14 April 1906; 3 April 1907.

110 *Straits Times* (Singapore), 12 April 1904.

111 *Rhodesia Herald*, 1 April 1912; *East African Standard* (Nairobi), 19 and 26 April 1913; *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 30 August 1918.

112 *Ashburton Guardian*, 24 April 1913.

113 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 April 1904; also *New York Times*, 24 April 1901.

114 *The original painting of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria the First, painted by Mr. Thomas Sully, expressly for "The Society of the Sons of St. George", Philadelphia*, Philadelphia: The Society, 1839. The painting was mentioned as being placed behind the president's chair in the City Hotel, Philadelphia: see *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 29 April 1842.

115 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 24 April 1862.

116 E.g. *Montreal Gazette,* 24 April 1878.

117 *Hawaiian Gazette*, 29 April 1868.

118 National Archives of Australia, A2/1904/2695, Letter from J. C. Langley, secretary of the Society of St George, to the Prime Minister, 26 November 1904.

119 *Straits Times*, 9 February 1926; 17 February 1927.

games, and dances', and fancy dress balls.[120] In Malacca, in 1923, St George's Day was celebrated with a cricket match and a fancy dress ball. The Malacca Society had a membership of 143 in 1925, while the Selangor membership stood at 231 in 1927.[121] At Kuala Lumpur, in 1934, a pyjamas dance was 'among the suggestions for celebrating the day of England's patron saint'; while, in 1937, 300 loyal followers of St George came together for the annual gathering at the Eastern Hotel, where they 'were a chorus of merry-makers'.[122]

New Zealand proffered fewer instances of English national associations than any other country.[123] As was observed by the editor of *The Star*, Auckland, 'for some unexplained reason, St George's Day has never been observed in New Zealand, except as a bank holiday'.[124] Equally, four years later, when the Englishmen of the town of Thames considered establishing a branch of the RSStG, readers of the local newspaper were reminded that 'It has long been a reproach to New Zealand that in this Dominion there exists only one branch of the Royal Society of St George'.[125] But New Zealand made up for its lack of English *national* societies with English *county* societies.[126] In many cases, these societies were surrogates for national associations, taking responsibility for festivities on the national saint's day and other patriotic events. In Wellington, a Yorkshire Society was established in 1895.[127] The Society's inaugural dinner was held in January the following year, complete with 'sheep's trotters, stewed tripe and onions' and Yorkshire pudding. 'The object of the society', stated its president, the Rev. J. C. Andrew, 'was to promote social feeling among Yorkshiremen, to aid in charitable work, and ... to read and receive papers upon the antiquity of the county'.[128] Settlers from Lancashire, Cheshire, Dorset, Kent, Northumberland, and Durham made similar efforts.[129]

These widespread examples of English associational activity demonstrate that English associationalism was much more important than has been recognized. It may not have attracted the sheer weight of numbers of Irish organizations, such as the Ancient Order of

120 *Central African Times*, 12 November 1904; 14 January, 11, 12, and 25 March, 1 and 29 April 1905; 14 April 1906; 3 April 1907.

121 *Straits Times*, 9 February 1925; 3 February 1927. Also *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 4 February 1935. For the St George's Day celebration in 1923, see *Straits Times*, 9 February 1923.

122 *Straits Times*, 13 February 1933; 24 April 1937.

123 See, for example, *The Colonist*, 24 April 1903.

124 *The Star* (Auckland), 24 April 1903.

125 *Thames Star*, 29 October 1907.

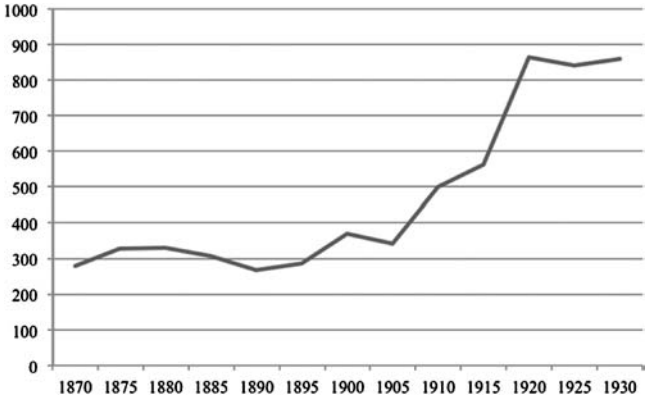
126 English regional migrant legacies are briefly discussed in Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland,1800–1945*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008, pp. 167–8. See also Raewyn Dalziel, 'Popular protest in early New Plymouth: why did it occur?', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 20, 1, 1986, pp. 3–26; Brad Patterson, 'Cousin Jacks, new chums and ten pound poms: locating New Zealand's English diaspora', in Bueltmann, Gleeson, and MacRaild, *Hidden diaspora*.

127 *Evening Post* (Wellington), 2 November 1895. On county societies, see James Watson, 'English associationalism in the British Empire: Yorkshire societies in New Zealand before the First World War', *Britain and the World*, 4, 2011, pp. 84–108.

128 *Evening Post*, 16 January 1896; also 2 July 1898 and 23 December 1913.

129 *Evening Post*, 19 October 1909; 31 January 1933; 22 February, 3 and 28 April 1936; 25 November and 16 December 1937; 24 April 1939.

Figure 4. New York St George's Society Annual Membership, 1870–1930



Hibernians, and was certainly no more geographically widespread than the many Scottish societies. Yet English associations were not small or restricted. Annual membership of the New York St George's Society alone came close to 900 in the 1920s, and had averaged over 3300 from the 1870s (see Figure 4).[130] On an entirely different scale, the working-class Sons of England, Canada, counted 30,000 members on the eve of the First World War.[131]

During the early twentieth century, when these societies reached their maximum extent across the Anglo-world, commemorating military victories became a common point of connection. In 1904, in Brisbane, imperial patriotism inspired a series of celebrations of both Balaclava and Agincourt.[132] The English of St John, New Brunswick, marked the hundredth anniversary of Trafalgar in 1905 with a dinner, and a suitable resolution was passed to honour Lord Nelson, 'the greatest of admirals, whose memory should be revered'.[133] In 1907, their peers in Hobart, Tasmania, marked Trafalgar Day with dinners, lectures, and memorials.[134] Magna Charta day also entered the St George's Society calendar and was specifically sponsored in the 1920s by the Magna Charta Association.[135] Described as 'an English-speaking Union', the Association certainly convinced newspapers in as diverse

130 Annual membership numbers were established using the Society's annual reports and newspaper evidence. For the annual reports, see New York Public Library, *ZAN-8373.

131 *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston), 8 September 1913.

132 *Brisbane Courier*, 25 October 1904.

133 *St John Daily Sun*, 11 October 1905.

134 *The Mercury*, 22 October 1907.

135 *Brisbane Courier*, 15 June 1922; *The Mercury*, 18 June 1928; *The Argus*, 4 April 1930. The original Magna Charta Association was a radical, maverick organization founded by an Irish Catholic, Edward Kenealy, to fight for parliamentary reform and the restoration of English liberties in the wake of the Tichborne Case, a courtroom *cause célèbre* over inheritance. The twentieth-century version was an ethno-nationalist organization, with no obvious connection to the earlier one. See J. A. Hamilton, 'Kenealy, Edward Vaughan Hyde (1819–1880)', rev. Rohan McWilliam, *Oxford Dictionary of Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15356 (consulted 2 September 2011); Rohan McWilliam, *The Tichborne claimant: a Victorian sensation*, London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007.

places as Adelaide and Iowa that this was a worthy ventured based on shared liberties enshrined at Runnymede.[136] Sir James Barrett, the prominent Victorian doctor and civic leader, ran Australia's Magna Charta Association for years.[137] For him, the First World War had been about defending the principles wrested from the craven King John.[138]

These associations also demonstrated transnational loyalty during war and other times of crisis. The Hong Kong English sold First World War bonds to raise funds for the imperial war effort. Posters and brochures depicting St George attacking a German soldier brought the themes of Englishness and war together – an effort also supported by the Patriotic League of Britons Overseas. In January 1916, the League wrote to the Charleston St George's Society asking whether they would assist in setting up a branch of the League, which 'now has 129 branches in various parts of the world, all of which have been established in the last nine months'.[139] After the War, the RSStG in South Australia petitioned the state government to make cheap land available for returning servicemen at the expense of 'Germans', 'enemy aliens', and 'disloyalists' who have not supported the war.[140] During the 1930s, the wealthy of the colonial world turned their benevolence towards the sufferings of the unemployed in Britain and Europe, with Kuala Lumpur and Singapore making considerable donations.[141] Like their American counterparts many years earlier, the Shanghai RSStG warned 'about the increasing number of unemployed Englishmen arriving in Shanghai in search of work'.[142]

The English and inter-ethnic relations

Thus far, our analysis has focused upon the ties that bound Englishmen and Britons together through the agency of ethnic associations. While St George's Day celebrations, as we have seen, were by no means universal (a fact sometimes blamed on the Englishman's less 'clannish nature'[143]), English activities met with approval in all of the British dominions and in the wider empire. In three places, however, there was varying hostility to English and British imperialism: in Ireland, where nationalist sympathies evoked a degree of anti-imperial feeling; in South Africa, during the Second Anglo-Boer War, where the Dutch settlers directly resisted the empire; and in the United States, where Irish nationalist passions consistently ran highest. Particularly in the US, sustained discordant notes were sounded, and English and British conflict with the Irish could be severe. We see this in the dissentient noises heard in response to the Diamond Jubilee celebrations in 1897. Catholic priests in

136 See, for example, the approving tone of articles in the *Iowa Press Citizen*, 13 October 1921, and *The Register* (Adelaide), 3 September 1923.

137 Obituary, *The Argus*, 7 April 1945.

138 *The Mercury*, 18 June 1928.

139 South Carolina Historical Society, St George's Society Records, 1124.00.

140 National Archives of Australia, A2487/1919/10401, Extract of a resolution of a meeting of the RSStG, Adelaide, 29 September 1919.

141 *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 9 December 1930; *Straits Times*, 8 November 1932.

142 *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 15 November 1932.

143 *Rhodesia Herald*, 20 April 1905.

Chicago, for example, marked the jubilee with a memorial service for Irishmen martyred by British rule in Ireland.[144] And, in Ireland, James Connolly and Maud Gonne denigrated the jubilee with black flags bearing the grim statistics of the famine and a symbolic coffin, which they marched through Dublin and dumped in the River Liffey.[145]

Yet sectarian cleavages had not been present at the inception of these associations. The Sons of St George Society, for example, was avowedly constructed 'not for the Purpose of keeping alive invidious *national Distinctions*, which ought particularly to be avoided between the different Nations which compose the British State in America, where, all the Freemen (from wheresoever they originally migrated) are BRETHREN, FRIENDS, and COUNTRYMEN'.[146] For elites, charity and humanitarianism remained guiding principles. Consequently, ethnic attachments did not prevent wealthy Englishmen and Irishmen from socializing.[147] Such gatherings were acts of gentlemanliness among civic notables, visiting dignitaries, and the immigrant community's wealthiest members. By the 1880s, English gatherings in New York, Philadelphia, Toronto, and other major centres had become key dates in the civic social calendar. Thus, in the 1890s, with tables packed with senators and local dignitaries, the Hibernians of Philadelphia welcomed the Albion Society to their annual St Patrick's dinner.[148]

However, for a wider spectrum of Irish society, ethnic cooperation with the English presented a severe challenge. The Great Famine (1845–52), which sent a million Irish to their deaths and even more fleeing Ireland's shores, had helped create an Irish-American lobby that was voluble in its critique of English imperialism. Growing Irish nationalism flowed into currents of American identity defined by revolution against the colonial British enterprise. While the elite may have been perfectly happy in pan-ethnic company, united in their social interests more than divided by their national origins, militant viewpoints also existed. Consequently, the president of the St Patrick's Society of New York was chided severely in 1854 for accepting an invitation to the annual St George's dinner.[149]

Irish anti-English attitudes tapped a wider American ideal: loyalty to the United States alone. Some Americans questioned the English tendency to toast their queen in a free, foreign country. As one magazine editor wrote, American citizens of English birth, who had 'solemnly abjured and renounced' Victoria in favour of 'plain Uncle Sam', had no right to maintain a dual affection for empire and republic.[150] Thus Englishmen were often challenged to demonstrate loyalty, not to monarch and empire, but to the president and the republic of their adopted homeland. St George's societies courted favour in this respect by commenting upon the shared libertarian heritage of England and America, ensuring that

144 *North American*, 23 June 1897.

145 For instance, James Connolly wrote an article, 'Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee (1897)', which set out the case: Peter Beresford Ellis, *James Connolly: selected writings*, London: Pluto, 1988, p. 14.

146 *Rules and constitution of the Society of the Sons of St George*, Philadelphia, 1772, p. 6.

147 *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 27 April 1813, 26 April 1814; *New York Spectator*, 28 April 1841; *Weekly Herald* (New York), 28 April 1849; *Chicago Tribune*, 2 December 1861.

148 *North American*, 18 March 1892.

149 *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, 13 May 1854.

150 Editorial, 'What is the value of the Oath of Allegiance?', *The Republic: a monthly magazine of American literature, politics & art*, 3 June 1852, p. 312.

both monarch and president were toasted. In loyalist Canada, or Australia and New Zealand, pledges of English pride carried none of the negative connotations that Irish nationalists and American republicans imputed to St George's societies in the United States.

Englishmen felt the threat of Irish nationalism, manifested most clearly in Fenianism. In 1866, in the context of the Fenian raids on Canada, the *Chicago Tribune* picked up on cross-border anxieties when it reported simultaneous celebrations to mark the queen's birthday in both the US and 'the land of beaver and Fenian scares'.[151] But less well-known threats also existed. The British Consul noted how, in the 1870s, Britons and Americans founded the Sons of St George in Scranton, Pennsylvania,[152] because 'three Englishmen were brutally murdered in the coal regions' of the state, and he recognized how fraught English–Irish relations in that state could be. Matters were made more serious, in English eyes, when the community hid the killers' identities, while 'two of the known murderers and their families were quietly spirited away from the processes of the law'. The cause of these activities was 'the well-remembered "Molly Maguires", an organisation of assassins said to be a wing of the Ancient Order of Hibernians'.[153] After the Mollies' outrages had subsided, however, the Sons began to focus on cultural dimensions of ethnicity, with 'the families of the various lodges meet[ing] together socially on stated occasions, thereby keeping live the English love of the country and the festivities of her fête days'.[154]

Specific displays of English and British patriotic imperialism sometimes stirred violent indignation in the Irish. Boston, in 1887, provided a spectacular case, as thousands of Irish sought to scupper celebrations for Victoria's Golden Jubilee. In a city where the Irish had fought hard to secure a political bridgehead against the Brahmin elite,[155] the jubilee provided a further opportunity for assertions of Irish civic-political power. Fired up by an Irish priest who thought this display of monarchical devotion would be a 'desecration of the Cradle of Liberty',[156] 15,000 of them surrounded the public hall to prevent the banquet. The English met this threat by taking up citizenship *en masse* to block the political power of the Irish, simultaneously reaching a concordat with city Yankees. A branch of the British American Association (BAA) was the result, founded by the committeemen who had planned the Queen's Jubilee celebrations.[157] Indeed, the progress of the BAA suggests that this sectarian conflict was commonplace. First appearing in New Jersey in 1874, the BAA spread to Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1883, Philadelphia three years after that, and then to New Bedford, Massachusetts, by 1887.[158] Boston was simply the latest city in which

151 *Chicago Tribune*, 25 May 1866.

152 Berthoff, *British immigrants*, p. 188.

153 R. C. Clipperton, HM's Consul, USA, 1886 (C. 4783), *Commercial*, No. 20 (1886), *Reports by Her Majesty's representatives abroad, on the system of co-operation in foreign countries*, p. 138. Kevin Kenny, *Making sense of the Molly Maguires*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

154 Clipperton, p. 138.

155 Thomas H. O'Connor, *The Boston Irish: a political history*, Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1995, pp. 95–165.

156 Berthoff, *British immigrants*, p. 197.

157 *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 22 October 1887.

158 *Rules and regulations of the British American society 1830*, St John: Donald A. Cameron, 1830, Rule 1, p. 3; *Daily Evening Bulletin*, 22 November 1888.

the English, in the shadow of growing Irish power, had resolved to protect their interests.[159] By the 1880s there were branches in Chicago, Milwaukee, and nearby towns.[160] In the mid 1890s, the British-born of Chicago – Manx, Canadian, Irish, Scots, Welsh, and English – reorganized the BAA into the Victoria Club with the same intention: to win political influence.[161]

Patrick Ford, editor of the *Irish World and Industrial Liberator*, America's most prominent Irish nationalist newspaper, regularly attacked England's Irish policies. Patriotic gatherings of Englishmen on St George's Day were obvious targets for nationalist ire. In 1898, the paper lambasted the 'Anglomaniacs', men 'born on American soil' who 'are more English than the English themselves', who criticized all things American. The warmth of transatlantic relations clearly irked a newspaper dedicated to removing the British from Ireland, hopefully with American help. It also noted critically how Charles Turner, the American Consul-General in Ottawa – an 'Angloman who craves for an Anglo-American alliance' – was fêted by the Canadian St George's Society on St George's Day.[162] The same theme was picked up again in animated fashion in 1899 when the newspaper attacked the British, the pro-British administration in Washington, Protestant ministers, and the St George's Society of New York, under the heading 'Anglo-Saxons to rule the earth'.[163] The headline was a quotation from a caption in the *New York Herald*, 'over its account of the self-glorification in which these expatriated Englishmen indulge'.[164] In the same year, the newspaper also levelled a blow at the Brooklyn Sons of St George, a society 'composed of Englishmen who are in the United States for money making only', who were gathered in honour of the queen's birthday. In particular the paper was critical of the main speaker, the Rev. Dr F. De Costa, later president of the Magna Charta Association, who claimed that Queen Victoria was the most 'important woman in the world' since the Virgin Mary, something the Catholic *Irish World* regarded as blasphemy.[165]

Sectarian competition also reared up in Canada, where, in 1874, the initially clandestine, militant Sons of England was formed. Anti-Englishness fired up the pioneers. George Carrette, one of the founder members, told the Sons' first historian that he helped establish the Order after his friend told him of 'some words he had heard ... against Englishmen' that raised in him a belief that it was 'time for Englishmen to combine for their own protection'.[166] Comparatively weak associationalism played a part: of all ethnic groups

159 Berthoff, *British immigrants*, pp. 196–7; *Anglo-American Times* (London), 14 November 1874; *Fall River Daily Evening News*, 28 October 1876; *Canadian-American*, 17 September 1886.

160 *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 24 October 1888, 1 November 1889, 19 May 1892; *Daily Inter Ocean*, 13 May 1888.

161 *Daily Inter Ocean*, 25 October 1895, 25 October 1896.

162 *Irish World and Industrial Liberator* (New York), 30 April 1898.

163 Classic among proliferating Anglo-Saxon literature, is J. R. Dos Passos, *The Anglo-Saxon century and the unification of the English-speaking people*, New York and London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1903. See also John L. Brandt, *Anglo-Saxon supremacy or race contributions to civilization*, Boston, MA, and Toronto: Badger and Copp Clark Co., 1915.

164 *Irish World and Industrial Liberator*, 29 April 1899.

165 *Irish World and Industrial Liberator*, 3 June 1899.

166 John S. King, *The early history of the Sons of England Benevolent Society*, Toronto: Thomas Moore, 1891, p. 11.

derived from the British and Irish Isles, the Sons reckoned, only the English poor were so ill-cared-for that they had to turn to the parish for help.[167] The weakness of English efforts next to those of the Scots and Irish caused the Sons to ask: 'Is an Englishman's heart less warm or less true to his countrymen than are the hearts of those claiming a different nationality to his own?'[168] The Sons first came to public attention in the 1887, when they caused a stir as part of a general mustering of loyalists against the supporters of home rule during a series of lectures by the nationalist MP, William O'Brien. The authorities feared a general riot and the press lumped the Sons of England, which was said to have 10,000 members, with the Orange Order and various militias as a potentially violent bulwark against Irish nationalism.[169] This aspect of Englishness – belligerent, proletarian, Unionist, anti-nationalist, and anti-Catholic – found a natural home with Canadian and American Nativist organizations.[170]

In Australia, too, there was a degree of sectarian watchfulness about these English and British societies. The Melbourne St George's Society was formed at a time, in the 1840s, when the local press believed that the Irish Ribbon Society was at large in the colony.[171] The English were chided for not forming societies when the Irish versions flowered. Much later, in the 1880s, the press teased Englishmen for looking on while the Scots and Irish ran the colonies.[172] However, the English expressed ethnic viewpoints when it suited them. When Colonel Burrows addressed the St George's Society of Kalgoorlie in 1918, he lamented how, though the majority of troops fighting in the First World War were English, their deeds were not separated from the British and received none of the attention given to Irish, Scottish, or Welsh contributions.[173] In 1920, Brisbane's St George's Society voiced strong opposition to the appointment of an Irishman, Mr W. Lennon, to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Queensland, expressing the view in newspapers and via the parent society in London.[174]

The English ethnic tradition inevitably also came into conflict with the Dutch in South Africa, against whom a war erupted. Lasting three years (1899–1902), this conflict resulted in a wave of patriotic organizations and a spurt of growth for existing societies, including the Sons of England and the St George's societies. A new harshness was also noticeable in the language of English associations, especially in southern Africa, as sociable ethnicity was overtaken by political events. Indeed, the St George's platform was regularly given

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167 *Ibid.*

168 'Address to Englishmen', in *Constitution of the Sons of England Benevolent Society under the supreme jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Canada*, Bellville: J. W. London, 1899, pp. 3–5 (quotation from p. 3). A more sympathetic view was taken in South Africa, where it was said that the 'more phlegmatic Englishman takes longer to stimulate into enthusiasm': *Mafeking Mail*, 15 April 1904.

169 *Elyria Daily Telephone*, 15 May 1887; *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 18 May 1887.

170 *Freeman's Journal*, 15 July 1878; *Leeds Mercury*, 20 July 1878; *Lloyd's Weekly Register*, 21 July 1878.

171 *The Argus*, 19 March 1847. The clandestine, Catholic, Ribbon Society was founded in 1811 to resist the spread of the Orange Order, often using violence.

172 *The Argus*, 24 December 1884.

173 *Western Argus* (Kalgoorlie), 12 March 1918.

174 *Brisbane Courier*, 14 January 1920.

over to expressions of political support for Britain's war in South Africa.[175] In Rhodesia, strident language suggested a firmly racial viewpoint: in 1900, at the formation of the Society of St George in Salisbury, the secretary described it as part of a 'mighty Zollverein of the Anglo-Saxon race'.[176] The politicization of the St George's tradition in South Africa, which was a function of a context of brutal war, was demonstrated by the clear support given at meetings for Lord Alfred Milner's aggressive stance on how to tame the Dutch republics.[177]

The Boers, then, were resisted and dismissed with an assertion of English history and values, and one that was wrapped up not only with Anglo-Saxon superiority but also with the laudation of Britishness. This helps explain why, in South Africa, intense local issues created more political discussion among 'patriotic societies' than elsewhere. In more general terms, then, Englishness (with its specific references to liberty, opposition to arbitrary power, fair play, and democracy) was seen to underpin the empire as a feature of a larger community of Britons and neo-Britons at home and in the colonies. Hence, while Englishness and Britishness might have been blurred, the English contribution was made clear: an imperial subject may have been British, but the values that he or she upheld had been spawned in England.

Conclusion

English national identity is complicated by three factors: the long-lived nature of the English nation-state; the requirement actively to promote Britishness as an inclusive identity; and the fact that so much that was important in the conceptualization of English values occurred beyond her shores. The first of these factors explains why the English associations described here have been overlooked. The second and third, observable in the globalization of English ethnic societies, explain why such societies are important.

We believe that the rise of English associations cannot be described solely as a modern phenomenon: our evidence points to the melding of two approaches to ethnicity and nationalism. We observe the roots of ethnic associations in pre-modern sociability and charity, which slowly changed into a modern ethnic tradition shaped by contemporary phenomena, particularly mass migration and imperialism. The creation of a global Anglo-Saxon identity that could encompass Americans, colonials, all manner of Protestants, and still find room for patriotic Catholics, signalled close connection between what we describe here and the wider strains of both imperial and Anglo-Saxon identities.[178] The political closeness of the UK and the US from the late 1890s also helped cement the shared elements within this global identity as a check on external threats posed by other rising powers.

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175 *Mafeking Mail*, 15 May 1901; *Rhodesia Herald*, 18 May 1910.

176 *Rhodesia Herald*, 24 April 1900.

177 Sir George Sprigg, at consecutive St George's Society events in Cape Town: *The Pioneer* (Allahabad), 13 June 1900; *Mafeking Mail and Protectorate Guardian*, 15 May 1901.

178 One noticed in Paul A. Kramer's excellent analysis of the coming together of British and American ideologies under the umbrella of Anglo-Saxonism: 'Empires, exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: race and rule between the British and United States empires, 1880–1910', *Journal of American History*, 88, 4, 2002, pp. 1315–53.

Celebrating the jubilee of 1897 demonstrated the reach of English societies. In those terms, much more needs to be said about the organization of English ethnicity in the empire, especially the local, regional, and transnational contexts in which it operated in the period up to and beyond the First World War, when fledgling nations emerged from colonies of settlement. If the Australians shared 'your England' with the St George's Society of London (which they claimed to do), and if Canadians, English-Americans, and New Zealanders answered the rallying cries of 'Greater Britain' (which they did), then these enduring associations played some part. That 'English' and 'British' blurred into each other helps explain why the former is less prominent than it might be. But the discussion here has shown that, whether calling themselves English or British, the English knew that they shared a worldview across the oceans and that English customs and traditions underpinned even that which was British. Moreover, the English demonstrated such ideas in times of peace as well as war. In 1920, the Sydney RSStG remembered the sacrifices of war; it looked on with unease at the political situation in Ireland, while suggesting that Englishmen around the globe might again show their mettle, even if ordinarily their passions remained invisible below the surface. For, 'the love of England is deep in our hearts and will spring to life like a flaming sword if ever the need should arise'.[179] However, it was not just the English who felt this way: an array of neo-Britons shared this vision and answered the call.

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179 National Library of Australia, Pethick Collection, cloth souvenir programme, RSStG, *St George's Day, 1920*.